779 family. Babies lacking in merit died at their birth, just as mothers whose merit had run low suffered or died in childbirth.

84 A soul desiring rebirth flew into the womb of a woman at [775] conception. By care and imitative magical practices, both parents helped the fetus grow but the mother gave the baby its [774] body. Parturition was a joint effort of mother and child, the course and outcome of which was determined by their respective [789] stores of merit. After delivery the child was blessed, his soul seized and tied in, and ritual means taken that he not wander from home throughout life. A post-partum rest of 846 several days was taken beside a hot fire, the purpose of which 392 was both physiological, i.e. to dry the uterus, and ritual, to bring about full "ripe" adulthood.

The fire, which was consecrated, strengthened a woman and made her a better nourisher, mature, more compassionate, and eligible to handle magic and the tender souls of living creatures. Thus she was fitted for her life-calling as a woman. 793 The comparable ceremony of maturation for men, when they too 789 were changed from "raw" to mature, compassionate, and strong 562 males for their calling of fatherhood and leadership, was ordination into the Buddhist priesthood. Only those men and women who had undergone their respective rites of maturation were eligible to handle magic. Men's magic gave power, control and could be aggressive. Women's magic was limited to nurturing purposes, and could never be destructive. The [688] respective areas of magical competence and right were autonomous and rigidly separated on pain of severe sanctions.

844 This view of the role of women in life and the events of childbirth in the earthly and cosmic scene, had the effect of giving women in childbirth a positive, secure, and relaxed outlook, and an understanding and acceptance of suffering so that they had little fear.

[128] How careers in midwifery, whether professional or amateur were established, and the nature of the specialty and of a practice are discussed.

128 The understanding of, and the attitudes toward, modern 844 medicine are given along with findings accounting for 846 acceptance or rejection of modern hospital care for parturients. Accepting the changes that were observed in the practices 369 surrounding childbirth proved to be a means of expressing partial withdrawal from the old life of a farmer and a step 178 towards the glitter of urban ways. In the desire to be seen as progressive, the fire rest had been shortened, market products substituted for the consecrated fire, and other urban ways introduced.

000 For persons interested in introducing changes in the

close touch with each other's activities and needs. 621

These residence arrangements had considerable bearing on the amount of help at hand for a pregnant, parturient, or lactating woman, especially since every woman expected to bear her child at home. A woman's first child was often born while she was still resident in the house of her parents or parents-in-law. If the separate household had been set up, and especially if there were other small children, a parturient's mother or other relative came to stay with her for delivery and post-delivery care, or a woman might return to her parental or her husband's home for the event. In fact, since husbands and wives were both needed in the fields, it took great diligence for a woman, without extra kinfolk in the house, to carry on child-care, cooking, and field-work, and then undergo child-bearing besides. The extensive overlap in the division of labor (Sharp et al. 1953:94-98), though, resulted in much sharing by husbands in the household chores, so that the burdens were somewhat eased. Help in child-birth was one of the areas of mutual aid freely accorded by neighbors, so all women could count on adequate or even ample help at this time. 621 844 592 844 476 593 [462]

Wealth Differences:

Way of Life 556 875 441

Real polarities of wealth existed. A well-to-do person owned rice fields, a good house, and had many devoted kinsmen. Teachers who were governmental civil servants and a few of the traders were somewhat better off because they had regular sources of cash. A poor man, owning no land, lived humbly and hired out at day labor and other odd jobs. Yet the way of life of the well-to-do was not very different from that of the poor. Practically all persons worked in the fields or at related activities, wore the same cotton clothes, and ate the same food. Rice was plentiful. Fish, fruit, vegetables, and fuel could be amply obtained practically without cost, though it was also possible to spend money on these. Yet here and there persons were beginning to lose their old satisfaction in life as a farmer. Changes were beginning to come in, heralded by such things as hair permanently waved, gasoline pressure-lamps, increased geographical and political awareness, grumbling over the cost of living, and frustration over rising expectations. Urban life as met with in Bangkok was viewed with some awe as a glittering universe with different ideas and needs, yet also with some uneasiness. The city dwellers sometimes looked down on the country dwellers and made them feel uncomfortable. [464] 556 511 178 369

743 758 178

to make use of modern facilities one suffered confusing and unhappy experiences. Bangkok traffic was dizzying, even if one knew just where to go. Hospitals had beds, not mats, and the personnel were strangers. Foods were often unfamiliar or violated traditional injunctions concerning heating and cooling. People were brusque, impersonal, and overbearing to country people. One woman complained, "I am afraid of the doctor there. She scolds me and does not treat me like city people. She will not explain what the sickness is." Mīnburī's clinic was small, set up in more familiar terms, and the staff known personally to many villagers.

743 758 178 485

Finally, there was the problem of finding an experienced escort, i.e. someone who "knew the way." More was involved than just convenience. In all walks of Bang Chan's life, no one ever presented himself to a school, to a household, anywhere, without a personal introduction from someone who had been there before, and so was accustomed (khoēi) to it. It was not hard to find someone who had been to the Mīnburī Health Center, but it was difficult to find one who had been to a hospital in Bangkok, knew what to do, and had the time, money, and inclination to act as escort. The latter was always a relative by blood or marriage or the sick person's mō himself (Hanks and Hanks, 1955: 160). Actually, five or ten persons might accompany an ill person, only one of which was acting as the recognized go-between. Many of those who had been to a hospital or clinic as patients had previously accompanied others merely as escort, or to visit (Goldsen and Ralis 1955:31).

758 743 184 178 [369] [844] [554]

Who had actually tried modern medicine for one reason or another? About a third of the household heads had used some modern clinic or hospital for treatment or hospitalization (Goldsen and Ralis 1955:31). Use was more frequent among (1) the literate, (2) those exposed to the mass media of radio and movies, (3) those accepting certain urban ways, and (4) those having greater contacts with the city in the way of visits, but users were not of a noticeably higher economic level (ibid:37). Women went no more frequently than men (ibid:32). No figures indicated how many of these occasions were for childbirth, but our interviews point to a small number. Taking the will for the deed, two women teachers who appeared to be the first to plan ahead to be delivered at the Mīnburī Health Center--but who did not get there because labor was too quick--seemed to be viewing the use of modern methods as a means to higher status.

758 743 844 178

Why was modern obstetrics so largely eschewed? What had been Bang Chan's experience, unfavorable or favorable, that colored their attitudes? First, home was the most convenient place for care. Bangkok was ruled out categorically as too far. In fact, Mīnburī might be too far if labor manifested its normal celerity as the case of the two teachers showed, or if complications had developed. Furthermore, a Chinese resident of Bang

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

from Bang Chan, the figure is as high as 85 percent (Dobby 1950). In these terms, therefore, it is best to view the incidence of land tenancy in Bang Chan as largely a function of local, historical circumstances.

A final word should be said about Bang Chan's proximity and accessibility to Bangkok—the cornucopia of so much that is new, interesting, and desirable (if somewhat equivocally) to most Siamese peasants. It is clear that Bang Chan's closeness to the capital creates certain conditions that would not be present in a community situated, for example, 200 kilometers, instead of 31 kilometers, from the nation's largest city. Simply on practical grounds, this nearness to the city permits the villagers to take advantage of opportunities—economic, recreational, and religious—which those living in distant provinces can obtain only after serious consideration of the financial and psychological expenses involved: "Do I have shoes to wear in the city? Do they treat people from the provinces well? With whom will I stay? Do I have the train fare?" A Bang Chaner who visits the capital does not have to make such financial or emotional commitments, since it is only a one hour, three and one-half baht (seventeen and one-half cents) bus ride back home, although many do share with their up-country cousins the peasant's apprehensions about city manners.

The attractions of Bangkok take several forms: off-season jobs, medical care, kinship ties, special schools, great market places, famed monasteries or fairs, and the many other places where one can go to have fun. A survey conducted in Bang Chan during 1955 (Goldsen and Ralis 1957) indicates that 62 percent of all household heads in the village visited Bangkok more than twice during the year for just such purposes. (Twenty-one percent had not gone to Bangkok at all, and 23 percent had gone more than ten times.) Many villagers, particularly younger men, attracted by the promise of regular wages, lighter work, and the bright lights of the city, leave Bang Chan with the hope that they will never have to return, although of course many do. The Goldsen-Ralis survey reveals that 26 percent of their respondents had lived in Bangkok for a year or more, although for most this was in fulfillment of military service.

Living in Bangkok is not something that is desired in and of itself. Bang Chaners are keenly aware of the disadvantages of city living—particularly its great expense and insecurity—and are impressed only by those individuals who have made a success out of their urban sojourn. Most would agree that a Bangkok coolie, for all his exposure to the wonders of the modern world, lives a considerably less attractive life than they do.

The frequent transit between Bang Chan and Bangkok,[8] however,

[8] Of less practical consequence than their direct personal experiences and word-of-mouth contacts, but not to be ignored, are the villagers' contacts with Bangkok by way of radio, newspapers, books, and of course by way of what their children bring

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

continually brings to the attention of the villagers urban standards and aspirations which, whenever possible, they attempt to apply to themselves. L. M. Hanks (1959*b*: 19) sees the operation of this characteristic acculturative mechanism in Bang Chan in terms of the villagers' "search for respectability": "A respectable cremation requires an orchestra; a respectable dwelling a tile roof; a respectable sickness an injection; and a respectable family must chaperone carefully its growing daughters. So run a host of points which help to bolster but not necessarily to advance social position."

Yet, after the relationship between village and town has been considered, Bang Chan remains very much a peasant community, whose residents are concerned first and foremost with the cultivation of rice, the maintenance of their monastery, and their own immediate social environment. Despite aspirations, many Bang Chan cremations must go without the orchestra; most dwellings lack the tile roof; injections are taken only by those who can afford them; and the necessity for boys and girls to work together during harvest time, a period of unavoidably infectious joy, precludes any rigidly imposed chaperonage. Perhaps the best assessment of the cultural position of Bang Chan was provided by the writer's field assistant—an individual born and reared in a village in the Northeast who, although in many respects worldly and urbane, maintained an almost passionate identification with his peasant background—who said: "When I first came here to Bang Chan, I never thought that people living so close to Bangkok could be *real* Thai villagers. But they are. They are not as friendly and hospitable as Northeastern peasants, and they are more interested in money, but they have a much greater love of the land. No city person could ever think and feel as they do."

Family Life and Social Organization

In terms of the traditional categories of social structural analysis, the social organization of Bang Chan is strikingly simple. There are essentially only five social units which demand, and toward which villagers express, relatively enduring psychological commitments. These are the nuclear family:

home from school, the curriculum for which is written and directed by Ministry of Education officials in the city. Approximately 14 percent of Bang Chan households have battery driven radios (there is no electricity in the village) and approximately 60 percent of the villagers can read, although considerably fewer actually have the proficiency to go comfortably through a newspaper; theoretically the same number of people can write, but few Bang Chan adults have the courage to take pencil to paper without feeling discomfort over their handwriting, spelling, and knowledge of stylistic forms. Newspapers that people bring home from town are passed around and read more for their entertainment than information; the few books that are seen in the village are pulp magazines, religious or moralistic writings, and occasionally do-it-yourself pamphlets ("How to Raise Chickens the Modern Way").

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207 Exposure to the media of mass communication seems to act, in
a sense, as a substitute for literacy. It may be that through
212 these means either an illiterate farmer can obtain information
about the more complex agricultural tools and methods or motivation
546 to try improvements, or both, even though he may not know how to
read and write. One may infer that he tends to act on the infor-
mation thus obtained, since he is more likely than his unexposed
opposite number to try out these innovations.

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*177 Acceptance of Urban Patterns

• 369 The printed word and the mass media are, of course, not solely
channels for the communication of knowledge. They are, at the
same time a means whereby the farmers may establish some sort of
contact with the more sophisticated world outside the community
even with highly urban Bangkok.

The survey indicates in a general way the extent to which
[291] the people of Bang Chan have accepted urban patterns. Their grow-
ing acceptance of urban modes is readily apparent even to a casual
[416] visitor: many own shoes, flashlights, wrist watches, radios,
[207] bicycles, fountain pens, modern furniture.* Other urban behavior
is likewise beginning to be noticeable.

[493]
[413] One very simple indication of the degree to which urban in-
[352] fluences have penetrated is the change in manners of taking
food. The farmers traditionally eat with their hands rather than
using a fork or spoon. In Bangkok, however, eating utensils are
customarily served with the meals in restaurants and are widely
adopted as well by the city population. Some Bang Chan inhabi-
*177 tants have picked up this simple urban custom and have substituted
*178 it for eating mainly with their hands. In Bang Chan of 1955, for
example, a sizeable minority (26 per cent) report that they use a
264 spoon, fork or both for the evening meal.

369 That such a simple question can roughly measure exposure
[207] to urban influences, is indicated in the following table, which
shows that respondents who report customarily eating with "urban
[546] utensils" are more likely to be exposed frequently to radio and
motion pictures and are more likely to have visited in Bangkok.

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[412] * Survey respondents report that their households possess a
flashlight (81 per cent); scissors (66 per cent); kerosene lamp
(27 per cent); radio (14 per cent). About 41 per cent say they
own at least one pair of shoes.

TABLE 16. INHABITANTS WHO HAVE ADOPTED URBAN EATING PATTERNS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO BE EXPOSED TO MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND URBAN CONTACTS

	Eating Pattern	
	With hands (242)	With fork and/or spoon (84)
Listens to radio		
Regularly (daily)	10%	25%
Occasionally	17	28
Seldom	51	35
Never	22	10
Has seen a movie		
Ten times or more	40%	72%
4 - 9 times	19	17
1 - 3 times	28	10
Never	13	1
This past year, how many times did you go to Bangkok?		
None	26%	7%
Once	18	15
2 - 4 times	29	23
5 or more times	28	55

When acceptance of urban influences is measured even on the basis of this index, the evidence is clear that it is linked with acceptance of the agricultural innovations. Those responsive to urban influence are twice as likely as others to use fertilizer (21 per cent versus 9 per cent), one and a half times as likely to grow mushrooms (57 per cent versus 39 per cent), and one and a quarter times as likely to use a motor than the others (82 per cent versus 61 per cent). There is no noticeable relationship, however, between tilapia raising and responsiveness to urban influences. The respective proportions are shown in Table 17.

These relationships between acceptance of urban patterns and decision to use certain innovations remain constant for those on high as well as low economic levels and also for the literate as well as illiterate farmers.

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TABLE 17. VILLAGERS RESPONSIVE TO URBAN PATTERNS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE AGRICULTURAL INNOVATIONS

Agricultural Innovations	Eat with fork and/or spoon	Eat with hands
Artificial fertiliser		
Tried it	21%	9%
Never did	79	91
Total cases*	(69)	(218)
Mushrooms		
Tried growing	57%	39%
Never did	43	61
Total cases	(84)	(242)
Small engine motor		
Own one or have used it	82%	61%
Never did	18	39
Total cases	(84)	(242)

* For farmers only; excludes all non-farmers

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TABLE 18. ACCEPTANCE OF URBAN PATTERNS IS LINKED TO ACCEPTANCE OF MOTOR AND MUSHROOM GROWING, IRRESPECTIVE OF ECONOMIC AND LITERACY LEVELS

	Economic Level				Literacy Level			
	Low		High		Illiterate		Literate	
Acceptance of urban patterns	(Proportion who used motor)							
Eat with hands	55%	(77)	76%	(73)	47%	(73)	83%	(76)
Fork or spoon	75	(20)	89	(34)	69%	(16)	90	(38)
	(Proportion who tried mushroom growing)							
Eat with hands	28%	(77)	58%	(73)	38%	(73)	47%	(76)
Fork or spoon	45	(20)	65	(34)	44	(16)	66	(40)
	(Proportion who used fertiliser)							
Eat with hands	11%	(77)	13%	(73)	10%	(73)	14%	(76)
Fork or spoon	19	(20)	24	(34)	3	(16)	23	(40)

Contacts Outside the Community

Radio and movies provide indirect contact between the community and the outside world and seem to encourage the acceptance of urban behavior patterns. (See Table 18.) In addition, however, there is direct contact between the community and the capital city. The inhabitants commute to Bangkok to sell their products or to visit. Some go to the city to live for a time, to attend the city's schools, to work as laborers or to serve in the military or police force. For example, about a quarter of the sample (26 per cent) reported that during the year preceding the survey they had been to Bangkok ten or more times. About a third of the sample (35 per cent) have lived in Bangkok, mostly for the purpose of working there. On the other hand, almost half the sample (45 per cent) have never been to the Don Muang Airport; and over two-thirds (69 per cent) have never been to the Annual Agricultural Fair.

One would expect that such direct exposure to the urban life and values of the capital city, for example, might be linked with greater readiness to try out improved methods of agriculture either because exposure to urban life may mean exposure to more information, or, less directly, may mean exposure to the urban values of economic self-advancement and experimentation. And there is, indeed, a relationship between exposure to the capital city and use of the motor. The two factors are not linked for all the residents--the relationship is a conditional one. That is, it is mainly among illiterate farmers where urban contact is associated with readier acceptance of the motor.

TABLE 19. ILLITERATE FARMERS* WHO HAVE GREATER CONTACT WITH THE CITY ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE THE MOTOR

"This past year, how many times did you go to Bangkok...?"

Literacy	Never or once	Twice or more
	(Proportion who own or use the motor)	
Illiterate	44% (40)	58% (51)
Literate	83 (36)	88 (83)

* Male farmers only

In the same way, there is a similar conditional link between use of the motor and wider contacts beyond the horizons of Bang Chan. Visits to the airport and to the agricultural fair, for example, (both centers of contact with urban culture) are associated with use of the motor among illiterate farmers. If the farmer can read and write, on the other hand, he is just

as apt to adopt the motor irrespective of whether he has been in contact with urban culture.

TABLE 20. ILLITERATE FARMERS* WITH WIDER CULTURE CONTACTS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE THE MOTOR

	Illiterate (Proportion using the motor)		Literate (Proportion using the motor)	
Trips to the airport				
None	38%	(40)	80%	(35)
One or more	63	(49)	86	(83)
Visits to the agricultural fair				
None	50%	(67)	82%	(76)
One or more	57	(24)	88	(43)

*Male farmers only

However, no such relationship was discerned between these culture contacts and trying out either fertilizer, tilapia, or mushrooms.

Here again, is evidence to support the hypothesis that contacts with urban culture may act as a substitute for literacy in making the farmer more sophisticated about improving his standard of living and level of production. But the data show that such exposure need not result from direct physical contact with urban centers; it can, instead, be a result of indirect contact. Direct physical contact with urban culture, it turns out is effective in increasing the incidence of acceptance of the more complex innovations only for the illiterate farmers of Bang Chan.

Friendships

The same reasoning which would lead one to expect a higher incidence of acceptance of innovations among those directly exposed to urban contacts would lead to the companion hypothesis: that inhabitants who have a greater degree of internal contacts with their friends and neighbors might tend to try out innovations to a greater extent than those who remain relatively aloof from such social contacts.

The data show that such contacts have a limited connection with acceptance of innovations. The incidence of motor use and tilapia raising is higher, it is true, among persons who report a wider sphere of social circulation; but there is little relation between social contacts and willingness to try out fertilizer or mushrooms.

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TABLE 22. AMONG ILLITERATE FARMERS USE OF MOTOR IS LINKED TO WIDER SOCIAL CONTACTS

	Exposure to Influences of Others	
	Have more friends or about the same	Have fewer friends
	(Proportion who tried small motor)	
Literacy		
Illiterate	64% (56)	26% (27)
Literate	87 (86)	86 (78)
	(Proportion who tried tilapia)	
Illiterate	34% (56)	15% (28)
Literate	43% (86)	35 (27)

[369] This finding corroborates and expands the previous discussion of the culture contact and acceptance of innovations. Exposure to influence of others from outside the community (through contact with the city, with the airport, with the agricultural fair, for example), as well as exposure to the influence of others from within (through friends and associates) clearly relates to the decision to use an innovation such as the motor. Its effectiveness is not felt equally by the whole population, mainly instead, by those who are illiterate.

The significance of these internal and external contacts to illiterates may be that through such contacts they are likely to gain needed information and motivation which, if one can read and write, is available through other sources. If one cannot read and write, however, it is the outside world which provides this kind of needed information.

Capital Investment and Debt

426 Bang Chan a economy is largely a money economy and many farmers avail themselves of credit facilities through professional money lenders. Most loans are sought for the purpose of replacing capital equipment and purchasing land and buffalo.*

The present survey secures a rough measure of the extent of such borrowing in Bang Chan. The majority of farmers (39 per cent)

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[113] * See Janlekha, Kamol O. A Preliminary Study of the Economic Conditions of Siamese Rice Farmers in Bang Chan, Thailand. M.S. Thesis Cornell University, 1951, p. 93.

*178 With more frequent exposure to these media, the link between literacy and use of hospitals or clinics decreases.
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TABLE 30. EXPOSURE TO MASS MEDIA IS LINKED TO HOSPITAL USE, ESPECIALLY AMONG ILLITERATES

	Literate (Proportion reporting use of hospital or clinic)		Illiterate	
Movie Attendance				
High (ten or more times)	78%	(103)	71%	(38)
Low (nine times or less)	64	(36)	48	(111)
Radio Listening				
High (listen "frequently")	81%	(68)	79%	(48)
Low (listen "seldom or never")	66	(86)	48	(122)

*178 Acceptance of Urban Practices

• 369 Table 17 showed that acceptance of certain urban practices was
743 linked to acceptance of the major agricultural innovations. Acceptance of urban practices is also associated with use of clinics and hospitals. Use of modern medicine is significantly higher among those who no longer eat with their hands than among those who do.

TABLE 31. ACCEPTANCE OF URBAN PRACTICES IS LINKED TO USE OF CLINIC AND HOSPITAL FACILITIES

	Customarily Eat With Fork or spoon (84)	Hands (242)
Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital?		
No, never	26%	39%
Yes, for treatment	48	33
Yes, for other reasons	26	28

*178 Contact Outside Bang Chan

369 It has already been reported (see Table 23) that hospital and
484 clinic use is higher for those who, during the past year, have
743 paid more frequent visits to Bangkok. This correlation may seem, at first, spurious, since the main centers of medical care are situated in Bangkok. But the questions asked about contact with Bangkok for the one-year period preceding the survey, and visits to the hospital or clinic over an unspecified time period shows

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that the relation of these two indices appears valid. In addition there is further substantiation of the hypothesis that contacts with the world outside Bang Chan are linked with use of modern medical practices: The incidence of such use is significantly higher among those who have visited the airport than among those who have never done so.

TABLE 32. INCIDENCE OF HOSPITAL OR CLINIC USE IS HIGHER AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE VISITED THE AIRPORT

	Trips to the Airport		
Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital?	None (148)	One (50)	Two or more (134)
No, never	41%	36%	28%
Yes, for treatment	33	40	39
Yes, for other reasons	24	24	33

Moreover, additional support for this contention is found in the higher incidence among hospital and clinic users, of knowledge of the world outside the community.

It is reasonable to assume that greater contact with the capital city is likely to increase the farmers' awareness of its major public figures. And, indeed, the incidence of hospital and clinic use is highest among those who are able to name correctly certain of Thailand's major public figures, as the Prime Minister and the National Police Chief.

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TABLE 33. INCIDENCE OF HOSPITAL OR CLINIC USE IS MORE WIDESPREAD AMONG VILLAGERS WHO ARE AWARE OF THAILAND'S PUBLIC FIGURES

	Have you ever been to a hospital or a clinic?			
	No, never	Yes, for other reasons	Yes, for treatment	Total 100%
...Who is now the Prime Minister of Thailand ...Would you please tell me his name?				
Names Prime Minister	27%	30%	43%	(192)
Does not know	48	33	19	(140)
...Who is now the Chief of Police of Thailand...Would you please tell me his name:				
Names Chief of Police	27%	31%	44%	(166)
Does not know	48	33	19	(164)

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The water users formed a group with higher economic level, greater literacy, higher acceptance of urban ways of life, more frequent exposure to mass media, broader social contacts within the community, and greater use of credit facilities. Illiterate farmers might also be water users, if their contacts with urban centers were extensive.

5. Acceptance of mushroom culture was a special case of agricultural innovation: a) as distinct from all other attitudes toward innovation, mushroom growers were not marked by their high positive attitudes toward mushroom culture; b) the investment in mushroom raising per se was less than the investment and risk required by other types of agricultural innovation.

6. The mushroom growers as a group distinct from non-mushroom growers were more literate and receptive of urban ways. Tilapia raisers were of a higher economic level and had greater community contacts than non-tilapia raisers.

7. An hypothesis was offered: that innovations differ in complexity and investment of effort required. The more complex presuppose greater investment, work, risk and postponement of returns; hence this complex kind requires greater motivation than the simpler ones such as mushroom raising.

8. Use of hospital and clinic facilities was more frequent among the literate, those exposed to mass media, those accepting of urban ways and those having greater contacts with the city. Unlike acceptors of agricultural innovations, users of modern medical facilities were not of a higher economic level than non-users and could not be clearly distinguished on the basis of breadth of contact within the community or use of credit facilities.

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b. And how about mushroom growing? Do you think mushroom growing yields very good money, good money, or little money? [244]

5. Very good money	68
6. Good money	160
7. Little money	49
8. Unascertainable	56

c. And what about Tilapia. Do you think tilapia raising pays very good money, or good money, or little money? [228]

9. Very good money	15
X. Good money	73
Y. Little money	175
0. Unascertainable	70

39. Do you believe in sadism strongly, somewhat, or not at all? [787]

1. Strongly	12
2. Somewhat	192
3. Not at all	105
4. Unascertainable	24

40.a. Suppose you could do the same work in another rural place and earn ½ more than here. For example, it would be a place 100 kilometers from here. Would you be willing to leave for that place or not? [166]

5. Yes	118
6. No	203
7. Unascertainable	12

.b. IF NO: For what various reasons would you not be willing to go?

(See code at end)

41.a. If you had no land to work in NE-KT would you move to another place or not?

X. Yes	166
Y. No	112
0. Unascertainable	80
— No Answer	35

b. IF NO: For what various reasons?

(See code at end)

42.a. Some people say that, generally speaking people who live in Bangkok have more genuine and lasting happiness than people here in NE-KT. Do you agree or disagree? [369] [829]

1. Agree	136
2. Disagree	134
3. Unascertainable	63

b. IF AGREE: For what various reasons do you agree?

If Agreement (See code at end)

125 42.c. IF DISAGREE: For what various reasons do you disagree?

[369] [829] If Disagreement (See code at end)

[793] [792] 43. Do you agree or disagree that all priests are honest and moral men?

X. Agree	197
Y. Disagree	90
O. Undecided	40
— No Answer	6

[829] 44. Do you think it is right or wrong for a Thai to marry a Chinese?

1. Right	55
2. Wrong	182
3. Unascertainable	91
— No Answer	5

[775] 45. Do you believe that ghosts bother people? Strongly, somewhat, or not at all?

4. Strongly	40
5. Somewhat	136
6. Not at all	124
7. Unascertainable	28
— No Answer	5

[653] 46.a. During the past year, have there been any activities for the public welfare in BC Wat, or not, to which you contributed labor?

1. Yes	231
2. No	102

b. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute labor?

_____

_____

c. During the past year or so, have there been any activities for the public welfare in the wat, or not, to which you contributed money or goods?

1. Yes	264
2. No	63
— No Answer	6

[651] d. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute money or goods?

_____

_____

47.a. How about activities not connected with the wat or with religious ceremonies in the home. During the past year, have there been any such activities for the public welfare in BC-KY, to which you contributed labor, or not?

1. Yes	94
2. No	232
3. Unascertainable	7

125
369
829

Question 42.b. Reasons for Agreement (multiple choice replies)

Amount of effort in earning a living
- Earn living more easily, lighter work, a farmer has to work too hard, life is hard here--easy there 58
- Can work indoors, needn't work in sun and rain 13
- Other (living is easy if you have money, don't have as many worries as farmers, can trade more easily) 3

Availability of jobs and money
- They have salaries so don't have to worry 11
- Earn more money, earn more money for pleasure, earn money more quickly, can make money in commerce 11
- They have money, they have properties 10
- Can find job more easily 10
- Good occupations 1

Convenience
- More comforts 10
- They can get everything they want, can get everything easily 7
- Can find food more easily, it's more plentiful, food is better 6
- They have communication, transportation, water and light 5
- Everything is convenient 4
- Other (more privacy, children have a better chance for education, many pleasures, better living, no troubles) 5

Other Reasons
- More civilized, they have "knowledge," they can write, they govern the country, Bangkok is progressive, wherever you live you are happy if you behave well 8

No Answer 8

Question 42.c. Reasons for Disagreement (Multiple choice replies)
- Cost of Living (Cost of living too high, must spend too much money, everything more expensive, food is expensive there) 34
- Availability of jobs and money (Easier to make living here, no way of earning money there, hard to find a job there) 23
- Dangers of Bangkok life (Fires, traffic, wars, too much fighting there, cheating, robberies, bandits) 17
- No security (Poor people starve there, occupation is not permanent, economically less secure) 14
- Urban Atmosphere (It's too crowded, the weather is bad, the air is bad, it's too noisy, too many mosquitoes, no kindness) 14
- Integration in Bang Chan, lack of it in Bangkok (Work is harder here--but you have peace of mind, people have no strength or unity there, plenty of friends and relatives here, can live in own house here) 12
- Bang Chan is O.K. (There is plenty of food (vegetables) here, life is easier and more convenient here) 9
- Specific qualifications needed (Don't have enough knowledge, education, or experience to be happy there, must be a skilled worker) 7

65

Question 42.c. (Cont'd)

Need for Money in Bangkok (Only happy there when have plenty of money)	6	125
Amount of effort in earning a living (Have to work every day there	4	369
Other reasons (Too many poor people there, many illnesses there, the life of the people there depends on the farmer, people from Bangkok always go to the country when anything bad happens, people can be happy both places, different people have different hearts)	12	829
No Answer	4	
Don't know	5	

Question 46.b. For what various activities did you contribute labor? 125

Earth work		653
Earth work at Wat	18	
Earth work at Mosque	7	
Earth work, unspecified (digging dirt, filling low places, digging Klong, loading and unloading earth and bricks)	53	
Cement Work		
Cement work at Wat (moved cement bags, laid concrete floor)	12	
Cement work, unspecified (building cement sidewalks, helped make concrete, poured concrete)	14	
Building and Repairs		
Building sala (pavilion, repairing pavilion)	51	
Building mosque (repairing Surao porch)	8	
Built priest house, construction work in wat, latrine in Wat, repair crematorium	8	
Building bridge	21	
Building road	13	
Constructionwork, unspecified (carried posts, repair a building, carpentry)	7	
Services		
At Wat fair (helped cook and serve, helped manage, swooping)	27	
At Surao fair (helped cook and serve)	3	
Services, unspecified (boiled water, cooked, carried water)	15	
Guilding the gold leaf, miscellaneous labor at footprint guilding festival)	7	
Priest's funeral (cooked, helped at cremation)	7	
Other (served at Katlin ceremony, solicited money for Wat)	3	

Question 46.d. For what various activities did you contribute money or goods? 125

To the Wat, unspecified	19	431
Contribution, unspecified	19	651
Construction activities		
To build pavilion (sala), to repair pavilion	57	
To make path, build street on Wat grounds	27	

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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landlord-operators were more sensitive to the change in rent rates than were the other groups of farm operators.

Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation was mentioned in the preceding paragraph as one of the factors contributing to the inelastic nature of demand for working land. It was also mentioned in the section on the occupational structure of Bangchan that farm laboring families as existing in the village were indigenous and were an outgrowth of competition for land coupled with the reluctance to emigrate on the part of those who failed to rent in any land. Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation in the village was also suggested in the same section when it was mentioned that the only possible alternative -- petty trading which was actually taken up by some former farm operators -- was limited by the fact that villagers bypassed local traders and went to the nearby market town of Minburi for major purchases and variety goods.

Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation outside the village, however, needs elaboration. It cannot be denied that wages in Bangkok, only twenty miles away and easily accessible through good road and bus services, were higher on the average than corresponding returns for labor in the village. It is important to note, however, that what will attract a villager to seek a job in Bangkok is not a higher average wage level in the city but a higher marginal wage there. Regarding the marginal wage, it is highly doubtful that a better condition exists in Bangkok.

369 It should be noted also that once a villager has moved
167 into Bangkok he will be deprived of the privilege to
162 acquire free food from nature -- an important economic advantage of living in the village which counts heavily when emigration to the city is being seriously contemplated.

427 It is seen, then, that the demand for land on the
423 part of land-thirty operators -- the tenants, part-owners, and owner-operators -- was high and inelastic, while the demand for land on the part of land-saturated landlord-operators was low and elastic. Since the combined demand of all landlord-operators constituted only a small fraction of the total demand (Table 20), it may be safely concluded that the aggregate demand for land in Bangchan at the period we are dealing with was high and inelastic.

311 Let us now consider the supply side of land. For
423 the purpose of this discussion we may differentiate four
427 sources of supply of a total of 6,722 rai considered to
463 represent our natural Bangchan area. They are:

1. Land-thirsty operators -- all for implicit rent.
   - a, Owner-operators 2,131 rai
   - b, Part-owners 227 rai
   - c, Tenants 225 rai
   - Sub-total 2,583 rai

2. Land-saturated operators (landlord-operators).
   - a, For implicit rent 517 rai
   - b, For explicit rent 683 rai
   - Sub-total 1,220 rai

3. Local non-operators -- all for explicit rent.
   - a, Traders 189 rai
   - b, Investors 149 rai
   - c, Public servants 165 rai
   - Sub-total 503 rai

178 in this zone has since been considered as residential land
423 although there has not been any apparent change in land
435 utilization.

178 It should be noted in this connection that during
423 the same period of 1948-53 there has been a steady rise in
435 the price of residential land in Bangkok at a highly varying rate depending upon location. For the purpose of our discussion, we may consider only the price of land in the northern suburb of Bangkok, on each side of Paholyotin Road (the popular Bangkok-Donmuang Road) which branches off at Kilometer 20 into Minburi Road which cuts across Bangchan Canal at Kilometer 13 (Crossing of Paholyotin and Minburi Roads as Km.0). It has been observed that the price of land on each side of Paholyotin Road has been increasing rapidly: a parcel at Km. 11 which was valued at 50,000 baht per rai in 1952, for example, was sold at 150,000 baht per rai in 1954. It has also been observed that price of land in this section of the Bangkok suburb declines with the distance from Bangkok proper: the 1954 price was 150,000 per rai at Km. 11, and 50,000 baht per rai at Km. 20 where the Minburi Road begins. If the Minburi Road is considered as a continuation of Paholyotin Road, it is only natural that the price of land would gradually decline to 12,000 baht per rai at Km. 13.

182 It is conceivable that the recent increase in Bangkok
423 population is one among several factors causing the rapid
435 rise of residential land prices. When the rapidity of the

367

182 423 435 369 rate of increase in land price is considered, however, it is reasonable to believe that population increase is certainly not the only factor.

[121] It is not the purpose of this study to deal with the price of urban land. Neither the problem of land utilization nor the whole economy of Bangchan can be clearly understood, however, without some account of the rapid building up of urban land prices in recent years. It is thus necessary to digress at this point into some factors accountable for this rapid rise.

369 454 423 435 178 182 It has been observed that the volume of domestic saving in Thailand is small because of the low level of income, and that such saving as does take place tends to be put into real estate and gold and jewelry. Concentration of income resulting from the postwar phenomenon of shifting of political and economic power into the hands of few people, however, has somewhat increased the proportion of saving; but this is again used largely to purchase real estate. The natural result is the boosting up of urban land prices especially in the suburban sections where there has been a relatively high degree of improvement in road construction since the war.

423 45 178 369 182 This investment in land purchase has more than ever before assumed a speculative nature. This is largely due to the experience of inflation initiated by World War II whereby huge and easy profits could be made from buying and selling of land. Corruption in the sale and purchase

423 of government real estates has no doubt increased these
45 speculative activities. The process has also been greatly
178
369 accelerated by an enormous increase since the war of banking
182 facilities, which traditionally extend loans on mortgage of real estate. It should be noted in this connection that the demand for loans in Bangkok has been so great as to allow most commercial banks to adopt a highly discriminating policy of extending loans only to their favored customers who are often willing to give as much as five per cent of the loan sought to bank officials as a customary "tea-money".

182 A third factor is that some organized financial
423 institutions have actively been engaged in deliberate at-
435 tempts to boost up land prices for their own speculative
455 gains. This was the immediate cause of the rise of land
178 price in Zone 1 from 300 baht per rai in 1948 to 12,000 baht
369 per rai in 1953. According to several informants in Bangchan, a representative of an insurance company in Bangkok came to the village in 1952 and offered to buy land on each side of Minburi Road at 10,000 baht per rai. This man was able to buy 20 rai of land at Km. 8, Minburi Road, which is in the immediate neighborhood of our arbitrary Bangchan Village, at his offered price of 10,000 baht per rai. At the time of the signing of the purchase contract, he made a 10 per cent down payment of 20,000 baht. Although the balance of 180,000 baht was not paid and the contract was later forfeited, the proposed purchase immediately pushed land prices in Zone 1 up to 10,000 baht per rai or over. According to

182
423 our informants, the insurance company owned hundreds of
435 rai of land in the vicinity. By spending only 20,000 baht
456 in boosting up land prices, the company thus set the stage
178
• 367 for making a large profit through sale of their own land at inflated prices.

178 While the increase in land prices in Zone 1 was
423 attributable to the sudden assumption of residential land
435 prices, this explanation does not apply to the increases in land prices in the other zones which have remained agricultural throughout. Although less spectacular than the case of Zone 1, the rise in land prices in these six zones was also quite abrupt, averaging 560 per cent for the five-year period from 1948 to 1953 (Table 28).

423 Capitalized valuation of these farm lands (Zones
434 2-7) may shed some light on the situation, although there
427 is limitation especially to the cost concept. There are two ways by which a capitalized value of farm lands may be obtained: (1) by capitalizing income from the farm operation left after payment of all factor costs except land, and (2) by capitalizing income deriving from explicit rent of the land.

*243 Receipt from one rai of rice land in 1948 may be cal-
435 culated from the crop of 32.1 tang at 252 baht, using that
434 year's average farm price of 7.86 baht per tang of paddy.
423 When the cost, including an imputed return to all labor but
427 excluding rent, of 166 baht per rai is deducted, a residual return to land of 86 baht per rai is obtained for the year.[15]

15. For want of sufficient data, it is assumed that the cost items other than rent remain the same.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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243 857 872 labor to the family farm work. It is also the time for children of families of other occupation to earn their small lampai from piece-working.

872 871 We have devoted a few pages to this topic of training the young for farm work because we think it is relevant to the study of the village economy. While the standard of teaching is generally poor in most primary schools in Thailand and consequently farm children receive rather poor academic education, it has been observed that their training in the farm work given by the family is exceedingly thorough. With the exception of a few bright children who are able to finish Pratom IV in four years and thus are able to leave the primary school at the age of 12, most farm children are kept in the school until the age of 14 because they usually fail in the examination at the end of each academic year and have to repeat once, twice, and even thrice. A good many are obliged to leave school at the compulsory age of 14 without passing Pratom IV. Urban children, on the other hand, usually pass Pratom IV at the age of 10 and are able to proceed on their secondary education at the standard age of 11 when they start their Matyom I. This is because they went to school at an early age and had better teachers at the Pratom level. Thus, farm children usually lag behind urban children in academic achievement. The situation is aggravated by the city secondary schools' practice of using students' achievement by age as the basis for admission decision. As a result, farm children do not

369 87

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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369 have an opportunity for secondary education although some
87 of them have adequate financial support. This has a tre-
[464] mendous effect on job opportunity for farm people, for most firms and Government departments set Matyom VIII as minimum standard for even the lowest clerical job.

243 While farm children have a poor academic education,
369 they are compensated by a high degree of farm training which
464 includes not only the technique of rice growing but also the
868 use of basic equipment for manual labor and simple construction work. It has been observed that farmers are better qualified to do manual work than urban people. This aptitude, however, does not to any considerable extent minimize the farmer's disadvantage in making a living other than by farming. In the first place, compensation for manual work is generally lower than the pay for clerical jobs. Second, there are in the city more job opportunities for clerical work and other white-collar types than there are for manual work. Third, the white-collar jobs tend to be more or less permanent while the manual jobs tend to be somewhat seasonal, and the manual worker seldom has a "position" in the firm as does the white-collar worker.

To the extent that these three conditions remain true, it may be assumed that the type of academic education and practical training being given to Bangchan children will serve only to confine them to farming life rather than to give them opportunity for alternative occupations.